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462 the men. The table opposite gives the exact division of all labour according to sex.

On the major occupations this demarcation is rigid. No woman ever goes fishing and no man ever scrapes taro. But in some of the less important tasks there may be exceptions. If a woman is very tired her husband may go to the beach and fill the hollow bamboo stems with water for her. This was taken for granted, and when I saw it happen several times there was no ridicule.

561 There is a lesser degree of division on lines of age. When we were discussing childhood we noted how the participation of children in the adult occupations was gradually increased, and how by the time puberty was reached the children were taking their full share in the daily tasks. We saw also how, from early childhood, the sex division was maintained, the boys accompanying the men and the little girls the women. From puberty until old age there is practically no division based on age. When a man and woman become old their tasks are lightened and gradually cease altogether. The feeble old people are not expected to work and they are cared for by their children.

463 Although every man fishes, hunts, and builds his house, and every woman cooks and cultivates her garden, there are also specialists in certain occupations. There are the magicians, the "doctors," the carvers, and the weavers of fishing-nets. The magicians are the most highly specialized and command the greatest esteem. A minor degree of specialization also occurs, for example, in that one man may be more proficient in setting up the posts of a house than others; another is a more skilled fisherman; or one woman may be known for her skill in preparing taro in a particular way. But all the specialists participate in the daily routine of living. Even the magician clears the bush ground, fishes, and hunts just like the other men of the village. The only one who is exempt (and then only for a time) is the carver. When he is busy

[Text continues on p. 164]

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463 making a mask or *malanggan* he does nothing else but that.

Sex, then, is the major line on which the division of work is made and determines the daily labour. If a man becomes a specialist, it depends on his inheritance or purchase of magic, or special skill as a craftsman.

OCCUPATIONS

461 Those occupations which are most basic, in the sense that they go on continuously, are gardening, cooking, and fishing. Important, but more intermittent, are hunting, house-building, and the making of objects of material culture. The making of magic is not an occupation pursued for its own end, but is an intrinsic part and accompaniment of many tasks, as it is also of other aspects of life such as love-making or medical practices. The use of magic in connection with everyday occupations is indicated in the following description, but the detailed spells, their analysis as a way of thinking, the part they play in the mental life of the native, will be discussed in a later chapter.

GARDENING

241 Gardening consumes more time than any other occupation. On a normal day the adults start off for their gardens about an hour after sunrise and do not return until the middle of the afternoon. The gardens are usually some distance away [487] from the village, sometimes a good hour's walk from the beach, along a narrow footpath through the bush. The reason for making the gardens so far away is that if made in the village the domestic pigs would break into them and eat the taro. Even as it is, the wild pigs do sometimes break in, and fences are always being mended to keep the animals out.